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ABSTRACT

Core ideas in the discipline of social psychology are examined in this publication. Social psychology is the study of social behavior based upon individual psychological attributes or personality. An individual's personality can be thought of as inner states of readiness which predispose a person to respond in certain ways in social situations. A person's psychological attributes, which can be either fluctuating or stable, are made up of moods, beliefs, attitudes, values, motives, and skills. These attributes make up the essential features of an individual's self-concept. Personality develops through a process of individuation and socialization which includes the influence of physical characteristics, relationships with the family, school, peer groups, work groups, and the mass media. The major mechanisms through which such social learning operates can be categorized as compliance learning, learning by identification, complementary role learning, and internationalization. An individual's social behavior then depends on how his personality interacts with the social situation. Subjective experiences, such as perceptions, thoughts, and feelings, also lead to and accompany social behavior. Once a person reacts in a social situation he changes and the social situation which produced his action changes. (DE)

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FUNDAMENTAL IDEAS OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

Donald Weatherley

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Boulder, Colorado 80302

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FOREWORD

FUNDAMENTAL IDEAS OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY is the seventh in the Social Science Education Consortium's series of occasional papers dealing with the structures of the social science disciplines. The intention of this series is to delineate clearly and concisely the major concepts employed by each discipline and their interrelationships. Clarifying these concepts and relationships will hopefully lead to a better understanding of not only single social science disciplines but also the interrelationships among those disciplines. The ultimate goal of this understanding is to help teachers and curriculum developers build sound, well-articulated curricula.

In this paper, Dr. Weatherley has done an excellent job of pulling together, sorting out, and explaining the core ideas in the discipline of social psychology. To us, the paper appears to be useful not only in clarifying concepts and relationships for curriculum construction but also in giving teachers and administrators some analytical tools for understanding the social milieu which they experience day in and day out.

The other six papers in the structure-of-the-disciplines series are:

Sociology, by Robert Purrucci, SSEC Publication #101,

The Structure of Geography, by Peter Grece, SSEC Publication #102,

The Political System, by David Collier, SSEC Publication #103,

A Systems Approach to Political Life, by David Easton, SSEC Publication #104,

Economics, by Lawrence Senesh, SSEC Publication #105, and

Anthropology, by Paul Bohannan, SSEC Publication #106.

In addition, the books CONCEPTS AND STRUCTURE IN THE NEW SOCIAL SCIENCE CURRICULA and SOCIAL SCIENCE IN THE SCHOOLS: A SEARCH FOR RATIONALE, SSEC Publications

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Lawrence Senesh made this paper possible. He asked me to write it, and then stayed involved in the process. During out many meetings together he was an inspired teacher, learner, critic, editor, and friend. It was a sheer delight to work with him. James O. Hodges participated in many of our early meetings and Joyce Hodges helped with the initial layout work on the chart outlining the fundamental ideas of social psychology. I appreciate their help.

Donald Weatherley
Boulder, Colorado
July 1973

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#121 and #137, contain detailed discussions of the problems of understanding and using the concepts and structures of the social sciences in social studies curricula.

Irving Morrissett

December 1972

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FUNDAMENTAL IDEAS OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

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In common with the other social sciences, social psychology deals with man as he coordinates his behavior with that of other men. What is distinctive about social psychology is its focus upon individual man and the processes occurring within him. It is this focus which warrants the label "psychology." But it is not the individual per se, considered as existing in a social vacuum, that commands the attention of social psychologists. Rather the essential concern is the individual as he is affected by and in turn affects other individuals, groups, institutions, and society.

Like any scientist, the social psychologist devises concepts that represent or categorize aspects of the reality he is studying. He speculates about how these concepts are related to one another. Formal statements of these speculations constitute the theories by which the social psychologist understands the behavior that he is studying. The adequacy of this understanding can be checked by using the theories to make predictions, then seeing whether those predictions are borne out.

Social psychologists have been busy indeed inventing concepts, developing theories, and testing those theories. The result is a vast welter of concepts and theories with some demonstrated utility. But there is no comprehensive theory of social psychology--there is no one set of systematically interrelated concepts that can be used efficiently in explaining and making predictions about the many facets of man's social behavior.

This means that it is a precarious business, at best, to presume to set forth the fundamental ideas of social psychology. There is by necessity some arbitrariness in the selection of ideas chosen for presentation here. However, this selection is by no means completely arbitrary. There exist some commonalities in orientation which serve to bridge various social-psychological points of view. The framework proposed here is intended to be hospitable to a variety of more particularized miniature theories which a student will encounter in a more detailed study of social psychology. Some emphasis has been given to presenting ideas in terms of their relationships to one another and an effort has been made to highlight ideas which are currently salient in social psychology.

At the end of this paper, in section 6.0, the reader will find a diagram summarizing the concepts and interrelationships discussed in this paper. It may be useful to turn to that diagram and peruse it before reading the paper in order to get an overview of the ideas to be discussed.

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1.0 Persons Have Psychological Attributes: Personality

Imagine a conversation being held in the teacher's lounge at a grammar school. Three teachers are there talking together during their free period. Bill Brown is one of the teachers. He is a tall, blond, thoughtful appearing young man of 26 with craggy good looks. He has been teaching at the school for five years. He loves teaching. He takes considerable pride in his reputation among his colleagues as a confident, innovative professional.

The second teacher, Mary Smith, is a well groomed, attractive woman of 21 who has been teaching at the school for just five months. Mary isn't planning on a career in teaching. She took her present job at the urging of her husband, who felt they could use the extra money until he became better established financially. She looks forward to the time when she doesn't have to teach, as she wants to center her activities around her home and develop an active social life. She is considered a superb hostess by her friends.

The third teacher, Harvey Black, is a carelessly dressed, short, muscular, homely man of 30 who has been at the school for seven years. After college, Harvey had started a promising career as a professional hockey player, but an injury cut it short. Harvey likes the security of his tenured position as teacher, but does not find teaching very interesting.

The conversation the three teachers are having concerns the issue of discipline in the classroom. After the subject had been brought up by Bill, Mary admitted that she has had trouble getting her students to settle down to work. She is asking, plaintively, for suggestions from the other two. As Mary sees her problem, she has six or seven "bad actors" among her students who are inconsiderate and disrupt the whole class. They talk all the time, tease other children, and generally seem to be looking for ways of getting into mischief instead of getting down to work. She has tried to hide her annoyance with them and find ways of rewarding them for good behavior. The other day she heard one of her students, a "good" student, refer to her as Mrs. Fuss Budget. This worried her because she very much wants to be liked by all of her students. She is also worried about what the school principal must think of her. She knows he is a man who wants his teachers to maintain an orderly, quiet, business-like classroom.

Mary directs most of her comments to Bill, who nods with understanding and occasionally interrupts her to ask for clarification of something she has said. Bill does most of the talking after Mary has finished. His tone is sometimes

matter-of-fact and authoritative; sometimes he smiles and speaks in warmer tones. When he directs a statement toward one of the other two, he looks them squarely and comfortably in the eye. He speaks of the early discipline problems he had when he began teaching and what he did about them. For him the solution lay in getting the kids "turned on" to activities that would bring them a feeling of accomplishment. He talks about how he tries to size up each kid to discover his strengths and then encourages the child to work on a project that uses those strengths. He gives the child a range of choices to make in pursuing his work on the project. Once a child is involved in a project, Bill expects him to produce a worthwhile product of some sort, e.g., a paper, display, or class presentation about it. Mary listens attentively to what Bill is saying and asks him many questions about it. However, she often looks perplexed and seems only to partially comprehend what he is saying.

Harvey is quietest of the three. He seems to be only half listening to what is going on. When statements or questions are directed to him, he answers quite briefly and in a abrupt, mildly irritated tone of voice. He doesn't offer any advice or suggestions for Mary; but at one point, after a series of questions from Mary to Bill, he interrupts with a sarcastic comment. Near the end of the conversation he volunteers this summary of his approach to classroom discipline: "Keep the little rascals busy and always let them know who is boss."

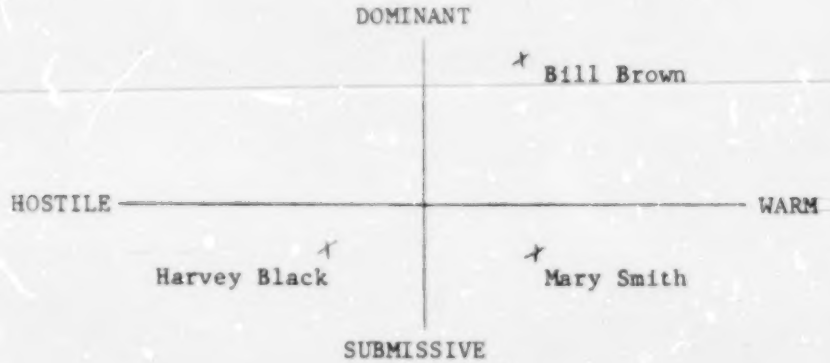
Let's stand back now and reflect a bit upon this episode. You will recognize it as a fairly commonplace, undramatic example of people interacting with one another--the kind of interaction each of us often experiences. What can we say about the interpersonal behavior of these teachers?

One thing is immediately obvious: each of the three teachers is exhibiting different interpersonal behaviors. Bill, in his giving of help and advice in a confident manner, can be described as behaving in a relatively dominant fashion in the situation. Mary's behavior is the most submissive of the three, with Harvey somewhere in between. But in addition to its position along a dimension of dominance/submission, each participant's behavior can also be described in terms of warmth/hostility. Bill and Mary both appear to be behaving in a warm way, while Harvey's behavior is hostile. These two dimensions, dominance/submission and warm/hostile, represent a useful and convenient basis for categorizing

interpersonal behavior

A graphic presentation of our three teachers' behavior in terms of these two dimensions might look like this:

FIGURE 1.



The conversation between Bill, Mary, and Harvey is an example of a social situation. The behavior of the three teachers illustrates something we all constantly observe: people in the same situation often behave quite differently. They do so because they differ in the pattern of *psychological attributes* (i.e., personality) that they bring with them to the situation. A person's psychological attributes (e.g., moods, beliefs, attitudes, values, motives, and skills) can be thought of as *inner states of readiness*. These states of readiness predispose him--make him ready--to respond in certain ways in social situations. For example, Bill's psychological attributes made him ready to act in a dominant, friendly fashion in the conversation about discipline, while Harvey's psychological attributes predisposed him to submissive, unfriendly behavior in that situation.

Some of a person's psychological attributes, such as his moods, are constantly fluctuating and changing and this provides the capacity for adaptation to changing social situations. Some of a person's psychological attributes, such as his values, are relatively stable. This gives continuity to his behavior and helps make it predictable.

1.1 Psychological Attributes Include Constantly Changing States of Readiness

An individual's inner state of readiness to respond in one way or another to his environment constantly fluctuates. Some days you may feel "on edge"; minor frustrations will set off flurries of anger or irritation. Other days nothing seems to bother you. Or you may be a person who on some days feels flat and lethargic and at other times, bubbling and happy.

Another example of fluctuations in readiness to respond is variation in ability to recall other people's names. At one time you will have no difficulty in remembering that the name of that rosy faced, overweight, boring friend of your mother is Mr. Wilkenson. At another time--lamentably, it usually happens when portly Mr. Wilkenson is looming into view--you can't remember the fellow's name for the life of you.

An individual's transactions with his environment affect his fluctuating states of readiness. If you have just finished off two milk shakes and a pizza, you are hardly in a state of readiness to respond enthusiastically when a friend calls to ask if you want to join him for an all-you-can-eat spaghetti dinner. A girl who has just seen a romantic motion picture may be much more willing than before to forgo her homework to join her boyfriend for an evening drive.

The emphasis here has been on the constantly fluctuating states of readiness within a person. However, these changes occur against the backdrop of more basic continuity and stability. It is to these more stable aspects of the attributes of a person that we now turn.

1.2 Psychological Attributes Include Relatively Stable States of Readiness

1.21 Beliefs, Attitudes, and Values Orient a Person in His World. William James once described the sensory imput that the baby gets from the world as a "buzzing confusion."

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But, for adults, unless they are very drunk, stoned, or psychotic, it ordinarily isn't that way at all. For most people, most of the time, the world is perceived as an orderly, predictable place. It is so because people construct an image of their world--a kind of cognitive map of their environment. They use this map to orient themselves to reality and make predictions about the future. These cognitive maps differ from person to person. They differ both in their content and their structure. They differ because each of us has different beliefs, attitudes, and values which shape our image of the world around us.

Differences in *beliefs* lead to different cognitive maps. Two teachers, for example, may differ in their beliefs about human nature. One may see children as essentially selfish and lazy; another may see children as essentially generous and hard working. Such beliefs guide the way these teachers interpret "facts" about children's classroom behavior. A child's enthusiasm about a forthcoming field trip may be interpreted by the first teacher as a symptom of his desire to avoid work and by the second teacher as a symptom of his intellectual curiosity. In our earlier example, Harvey Black could be the teacher who interprets classroom behavior in terms of a belief that children are basically lazy. Bill Brown could be the teacher who interprets classroom behavior in terms of a belief that children are basically curious.

Two teachers may have different beliefs about the complexity of their world. One may see the world in terms of just a few general categories. Such a teacher, for example, may classify his students primarily in terms of "good" or "bad." Another may see the world in much more complex and differentiated terms. He would be aware of numerous facets and shadings of differences among his students overlooked by the first teacher. In our example, Mary Smith more closely resembles the first of these two types of teachers; Bill Brown resembles the second.

Differences in *attitudes* lead to differences in our images of the world. The term attitude refers to a predisposition to respond in a consistent way toward objects, persons, or situations. Attitudes contain a prominent affective (i.e., emotional) component. We speak of a positive attitude when a person is attracted by something or somebody. We speak of a negative attitude when a person is repelled by something or somebody. A negative attitude is associated with unpleasant feelings—dislike, fear, wanting to avoid, etc.

Mary Smith gives us reason to suspect that she has negative attitudes toward those children she classifies as "bad." Bill Brown seems to have more generally positive attitudes toward his pupils and toward the activities of teaching them. Harvey Black's behavior suggests that he has negative attitudes toward some aspect of the conversation itself--either the other people involved, the topic being discussed, or possibly the way in which it is being discussed.

Differences in *values* lead to differences in our image of the world. Values are inner standards which guide individuals toward goals they deem worthy of attaining. Values help to establish priorities among goals. Bill Brown seems to value to some extent reasonable quiet and order in his classroom, but it appears that a more important goal for him is stimulating the interest and involvement of his students in the process of learning.

Values serve to give direction, meaning, and incentive to the behavior of individuals, but they also can create problems. An individual's values can, and often do, conflict with one another. In such a case the person may have difficulty in attaining goals based on the conflicting values. Mary Smith places a high value on conforming to authority; her principal likes his teachers to be rigorous academically and firm with discipline. But she also wants to be liked by her students. Her frustration with her class may stem in part from her inability to find a workable resolution of this conflict.

1.22 Beliefs, Attitudes, and Values Orient a Person to Himself: The Self-Concept. We all must make a distinction between self and non-self. Our skin represents a boundary between the self and external reality.

The emotional significance of the distinction between self and non-self has been neatly illustrated by Gordon Allport (1955). Picture yourself with a cut on your finger. You would probably not hesitate to put the finger in your mouth and suck on the wound. Now imagine having some of your blood drawn from a vein and placed in a glass. How would you feel if you were asked to drink that blood? Once your blood is taken from you and is no longer perceived as an integral part of yourself, the emotional reaction it is likely to provoke changes drastically.

The distinction between self and non-self begins to be made early in infancy. Shortly thereafter, as a product of his experiences, the person begins to develop an organized set of ideas about himself. This *self-concept* becomes a very highly valued possession to a person.

Understanding the essential features of an individual's self-concept is helpful in understanding important aspects of his social behavior. The structural properties of a person's ideas about himself are likely to be similar to those which characterize the ideas he holds about the external world. Both are influenced by the person's beliefs, attitudes, and values. For example, we might expect Mary Smith to have a self-concept that is less complex than Bill Brown's. We also wouldn't be surprised to discover that Mary tends to think about her own activities in terms of the categories of "good" and "bad," just as she does in thinking about her students.

The nature of a person's attitudes about himself have an important bearing on his behavior. The term *self-esteem* is used to summarize these attitudes. High self-esteem (i.e., generally positive attitudes toward oneself) contributes to

subjective feelings of well being and socially adaptive behavior. Bill Brown's dominant, friendly manner in his conversation with the other two teachers certainly suggests that he views himself in positive terms.

While a person's self-concept can and most certainly does change to some extent over his lifetime, it is also accurate to say that once developed it is relatively stable. Once we have come to see ourselves in a certain way, e.g., as witty, intelligent, honest, we strive in various ways to maintain that picture of ourselves. This principle appears to hold even if our view of ourselves is not so positive; for example, if we see ourselves as awkward, stupid, and ill-tempered. That is one of the regrettable facts of life with which psychotherapists must deal every day.

Defensive behavior helps to preserve the self-concept. The term defensive behavior is common enough in everyday parlance that most people have either used it or heard it. We use the expression when a person's actions imply that he is exerting a strong effort to avoid recognizing or "owning up" to something that would be painful to acknowledge. The expression derives from a key concept in a number of theories of personality. In these theories, a defense is considered an internal process or mechanism which helps an individual to maintain a sense of inner comfort by keeping out of awareness or distorting in awareness ideas about himself, his activities, or his social environment. *Repression* and *denial* are names given to basic defense mechanisms. Both refer to a kind of automatic, selective inattention to certain events. In the case of repression, the events are presumed to occur within the individual--impulses, feelings, memories. In the case of denial, the events are public in that they can be recognized by others but are denied by the person himself.

Suppose you see a person treating another quite rudely. You later speak with the rudely treated person and discover that he viewed the interaction you

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witnessed as quite friendly. Here you have some reason to suspect that the mechanism of denial is at work. (Of course, it is also possible that another mechanism, projection, might have been operating in you to produce a distorted view by you of the "rude" person!) But let's suppose for the moment that you were correct and that the first person was in fact rude. What might be in it for the second person to deny his rudeness? It might be that the second person has a self-concept organized around the qualities of trustfulness, kindness, and friendliness. If he is successful in denying the other person's rudeness, he can behave in what he sees as his usual friendly, trusting fashion without having to recognize that it doesn't mesh with the other person's behavior very well. We can see in this example the way in which an individual might use a defense mechanism in order to help maintain the image he has developed of himself--his identity.

The concept of defense mechanism involves some perplexing logical problems for theorists. For example, how can a memory not be remembered, or a feeling not be felt. Despite these problems, some theorists have found it useful to assume not only that impulses, memories, and feelings in some sense exist outside of awareness in a person, but also that these processes can have a major impact on an individual's behavior and his subjective experience. The term *unconscious motivation* is used to refer to this principle. For example, although she seemed to be listening attentively to Bill Brown, Mary Smith nevertheless appeared not to understand him very well. This probably made it necessary for him to repeat himself and make extra efforts to explain his ideas clearly. Could unconscious motivation be involved here? It might be that she was expressing indirectly, through her difficulty in comprehending Bill's statements, some angry feelings toward him which she very likely did not experience as anger.

1.23 Motives Direct and Impel Action. A *motive* is the energy for action. Not all social psychologists agree on the importance of motives in explaining social behavior. Some psychologists give motivation a minor role, while others built entire theories of social behavior around the concept of motivation. Psychologists also disagree about the origin of motives. Some believe that motives are innate, while others feel that motives are learned. Psychologists also disagree about which motives are more important and which are less important in guiding social behavior.

One approach is to think in terms of one or two *innate drives* which are expressed in some derivative form in all behavior. In the theory developed by Freud, for example, the drives of sex and aggression are held to be the fundamental energy sources for all behavior. (Though in fairness to Freud, it should be pointed out that he offers ingenious explanations of how sexual and aggressive energy become transformed and disguised in the course of human development.)

A different approach, one more common among social psychologists than the Freudian view, is to think in terms of a number of *learned social motives*. Examples of such learned motives are the need to affiliate with others, the need to nurture others, and the need to be dependent upon others. Mary Smith's submissive, friendly behavior in the conversation described earlier might be partially explained in terms of a relatively strong dependency need that she had acquired.

The most extensively studied learned motive is the *need for achievement*--an individual's desire to master, to succeed, to be good at what he undertakes. Of our three teachers, Bill Brown gives some indirect evidence of at least a moderately high need for achievement in his emphasis upon having his students produce worthwhile projects. There is not enough evidence about the other two teachers to make any intelligent guesses about their level of achievement motivation.

David McClelland at Harvard is the psychologist most closely identified with work on the need for achievement. He has made the ambitious proposal that differences in the economic development of nations might be explained in terms of differences in the level of achievement motivation of the citizens of those nations. (McClelland 1961) His work in examining this thesis is sufficiently intriguing that it warrants a brief summary here.

McClelland reasoned, following the sociologist Max Weber, that the need for achievement is logically related to Protestantism, which emphasizes the need for individuals to seek personal redemption by pursuing good works and striving for perfection. This led him to the hypothesis that predominantly Protestant nations would manifest a greater level of economic development than would predominantly Catholic countries. In testing this hypothesis, he made the reasonable assumption that a country's economic development would be reflected in its per capita consumption of electricity. He considered 25 countries, classified them as either Catholic or Protestant, and found evidence confirming his hypothesis: Protestant countries consumed considerably more electricity per capita than did Catholic.

McClelland then went a step further. He attempted to find evidence indicating that within a given country the level of achievement motivation at a specific point in time would be related to that nation's subsequent rate of economic development. He used a clever idea in estimating a nation's level of achievement motivation. Reasoning that the myths, folk tales, and educational materials of a nation reflect the preoccupations of its people, he gathered elementary school readers which had been in use in 1925 in each of a variety of countries. He derived scores for achievement motivation from the content of those readers. He then measured the correlation between each country's achievement motivation score and two indices of the economic growth of each country in the 25 years following 1925.

Unfortunately, the punch line of this story is anticlimatic: McClelland found only partial support for his thesis. Achievement scores were significantly correlated with one of his indices of economic development (increase in per capita use of electricity) but not correlated significantly with his other index (increase in real national income). It should also be mentioned here that other workers have failed to confirm one corollary of McClelland's thesis. Children in Protestant families do not give evidence of a higher level of achievement motivation than do children in Catholic families; in fact there is some evidence that the reverse may be true. All in all, however, McClelland's work stands as a bold and provocative example of how a single variable of personality, the achievement motive, may be used in attempting to account for economic events at the societal level.

Abraham Maslow (1962) also made an important contribution to our thinking about the motives that impel human behavior. He conceived general categories of motives arranged in a hierarchy. Unless and until needs lower in the hierarchy are met, the individual cannot efficiently and effectively satisfy needs located higher up. At the lowest point in the hierarchy, the most basic level, Maslow placed physiological needs, such as the need for air, water, and food, as well as the need for physical safety. Next on the hierarchy are social needs--the need to belong and the need to give love to and receive love from others. Third on the hierarchy are the ego needs. These are the need for self-respect and the need to be respected by others. At the top of the hierarchy is the *need for self-actualization*. This is the need for self-fulfillment, for realizing one's inner potentials. According to Maslow, since the great majority of people never completely succeed in satisfying their lower order needs, the drive for self-actualization is only rarely and episodically expressed. To give you some appreciation of what Maslow saw as implications for a young person who is

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able to act upon his self-actualization drive, here is what Maslow said of the experience of self-actualization:

> We may define it as an episode, or a spurt in which the powers of the person come together in a particularly efficient and intensely enjoyable way, and in which he is more integrated and less split, more open for experience, more idiosyncratic, more perfectly expressive or spontaneous, or fully functioning, more creative, more humorous, more ego-transcending, more independent of his lower needs, etc. He becomes in these episodes more truly himself, more perfectly actualizing his potentialities, closer to the core of his Being. (Maslow 1962, p. 21)

Empirically oriented social psychologists are not particularly fond of the concept of self-actualization. They regard it as vague, mystical, and not especially useful as a basis for research on social behavior. However, an increasing number of applied psychologists, especially those engaged in psychotherapy, incorporate the notion of self-actualization in their conceptualization of a person. They are drawn to it because it conveys the forward-looking, self-determining quality that is the distinctly human side of man.

1.24 Cognitive and Behavioral Skills Enable Action. The term *skill* refers to an ability within a person. It is something that the person knows how to do. It is clear that one of the determinants of what a person does in a given situatic (and also of the choice of situations that a person exposes himself to) is the repertoire of skills that he has acquired and has at his disposal. People who don't know how to drive are rarely found behind the wheel of a car. When they are, it usually does not take long to discern their lack of ability for the task at hand.

Behavioral skills are those in which overt behaviors are the most salient activities, e.g., whittling, skiing, driving a car, or dancing. *Cognitive skills* are a less obvious, but more fundamental ingredient of human social behavior. These are the abilities involved in thought processes. Among these

are the ability to perceive events accurately (perceptual skills), the ability to form appropriate and useful concepts on the basis of these perceptions (concept formation skills), the ability to manipulate these concepts according to the rules of logic (reasoning skills), and the ability to selectively utilize unconventional perceptions, concepts, and reasoning processes to attain novel problem solutions (creative thinking abilities). Although either cognitive or behavioral skills may predominate in a given instance, all human social behavior requires utilization of both kinds of skills. Communication skills are an example of this: to communicate requires the ability to develop ideas (cognitive skills) and the ability to express ideas (behavioral skills). At an even more general level of analysis, psychologists speak of *interpersonal skills* to cover the vast collection of abilities necessary for a person to coordinate his activities effectively with those of other people with whom he is in contact.

Because the skills a person has at his disposal determine what he can do in a given situation, they represent important determinants of what he does do. Consider our teacher, Mary Smith, once again. It may be that she has poorly developed skills in one important aspect of communication: she may not be readily able to regard the matter at hand from the frame of reference of the person with whom she is speaking. According to this kind of analysis, Mary acts "confused" and causes Bill to repeat himself, not as an expression of underlying anger toward him, but because she lacks the skills necessary to understand adequately what he is saying.

In addition to influencing one's behavior in a given situation, one's skills can affect the situations he chooses to encounter. A person may avoid situations for which he lacks the requisite skills. Alternatively, when certain kinds of skills are necessary to attain the valued goals, the recognition of a skill deficiency may serve as the incentive to undertake learning to strengthen that skill.

1.3 Personality is a Dynamically Organized System

Personality is a system made up of many interacting attributes--the states of readiness. As we have just discussed, some of these attributes are constantly changing, others are relatively stable. How these states of readiness are patterned and how they interact with each other affects the uniqueness of personality.

Like any system, a change of one attribute necessarily changes the interaction of all. This principle has significance for the development and change of personality. A successful effort to change one attribute of personality may result in unintended and disconcerting changes in some other psychological attributes. For example, if a teacher is successful in teaching a child to value scientific procedures highly, the child may at the same time experience a weakening of his religious values.

Psychologists by no means agree about how most usefully to conceptualize the major components of personality or the nature of the interconnections among them. However, many theorists do attach central importance to an individual's self-concept, or identity, and the set of values that an individual uses to evaluate and guide his behavior. In the section to follow, dealing with the development of personality, the concepts of personal identity and values will be the major focus of our attention.

2.0 Personality Develops Through Individuation and Socialization

Man is a social being. Individuals must coordinate their activity with the activity of other individuals within a social system. To achieve this coordination individuals must acquire a common understanding of the expected behavior, attitudes, and values associated with various social roles. The process of learning these shared expectancies concerning role performance is called *socialization*. The essence of socialization is the acquisition of ideas and behavioral skills which an individual holds in common with others. This commonality holds together the social system.

But each individual is also unique. He plays his social roles with an individual style. While he identifies himself in part in terms of his similarities to other individuals within his social system, he also comes to regard himself as a distinctive, separate individual. The term *individuation* refers to the process by which a person acquires a distinctive self-definition--a personal identity. Personality is the product of both socialization and individuation.

Personality is shaped and altered in the course of an individual's interaction with other individuals or groups. Personality development continues throughout the life of a person. However, the early years of life are most important. This is because the pattern of personality established in the early years affects the magnitude and direction of subsequent personality development.

When we think of shaping a personality, it is easy to conceive of this as the operation of a set of external influences upon a passive object. This is not the case, however. The individual himself is an active participant in the process of personality development. He affects others as well as being affected by them. Thus he helps to determine the nature of the external influences he is subjected to. Even in infancy, the appearance and activity level of the

infant constitute distinctive social stimuli that affect those around him. A colicky baby affects the mood of the adults around him differently from a contented, quiet infant. This mood will have a bearing on how the adults treat the infant. As an individual grows older and matures in conceptual abilities, he develops an increasing capacity to make choices about how he will behave in a given situation and about the situations he will become involved in. Thus, he can increasingly play a part in the shaping of his own personality.

In the discussion to follow, dealing with the development of personality, we will first briefly look at how a person's physical attributes contribute to personality development. Next we will examine five kinds of social relationships that exert a strong influence on personality development--relationships with the family, the school, peer groups, work groups, and the mass media. And finally we shall look at the processes of social learning through which these relationships become influential.

2.1 Physical Attributes Influence Personality

An individual's physical attributes affect his personality development in two major ways: by setting limits on what he can do and by affecting the way others react to him.

An individual with very small hands will have some difficulty playing a piano and is unlikely to become a first-rate pianist. A very short man has little prospect for a career as a basketball player. A very heavy man won't become a jockey. All of these represent obvious examples of how a person's physical characteristics limit what he can do--his behavioral capacity.

The image a person develops of himself depends in part on how other people react to him. A person's appearance affects reactions to him. A black person is treated differently in our society from a Caucasian, a "beautiful" girl

differently from a "plain" girl, a boy differently from a girl. Bill Brown's good looks and tall stature probably evoke a response different from Harvey Black's short, homely appearance. This may be one reason why they have developed different personalities.

Even such factors as the rate of a person's physical maturation in adolescence can have an important bearing on his social interaction and, consequently, on his personality. There is consistent evidence, for example, that boys who are relatively slow in their rate of physical maturation during adolescence are perceived in less favorable terms by both adults and peers than are early maturing boys. As a consequence, late maturing boys are more likely than others to show feelings of inadequacy, negative self-conceptions, and persistent dependencies. Furthermore, such negative personality attributes have been shown to persist well into adulthood.

2.2 Social Interaction Influences Personality

2.21 Social Interaction with the Family. The saying "as the twig is bent s the tree is inclined" has special pertinence to the individual in his family, for it is typically within the context of the family unit that an individual's personality begins to take shape. The nature of a person's experiences within his family are thus of central importance to his personality development. The position of a particular family in society, its size, and its geographical location make a difference in the kind of experience it will provide for a child. Of overarching importance, however, is the personality of the parents. They are in the position within the family to set the emotional climate and determine the means by which the children's behavior will be regulated and their development guided.

Psychologists who have studied parental behavior have identified two salient

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dimensions. These dimensions are very similar to those described earlier, which were derived from more general observations of interpersonal behavior. The first dimension has to do with the degree to which the parent conveys warmth and acceptance or hostility and rejection in his relationship with his children. This can be labeled warmth versus hostility. The second important dimension which underlies the behavior of parents is the degree to which they place restrictions upon their children's behavior in terms of the number and narrowness of the limits they set. This dimension can be labeled *restrictiveness versus permisiveness.* A number of psychologists have attempted to assess the influence of these two parental variables upon behavioral and personality traits of children (e.g., Baldwin 1949; Becker 1964; Kagan and Moss 1962). Some of their key findings are summarized below in Figure 2.

FIGURE 2.

CONSEQUENCES IN CHILDREN OF THE INTERACTION
OF PARENTAL WARMTH VS. HOSTILITY AND
RESTRICTIVENESS VS. PERMISSIVENESS

	RESTRICTIVENESS	PERMISSIVENESS
WARMTH	Polite, compliant, neat, dependent, high self-esteem, emotionally controlled	Active, socially outgoing independent, creative, friendly, spontaneous
HOSTILITY	Socially withdrawn, shy self-aggressive, anxious "neurotic" problems	Aggressive toward others non-compliant, behavior problems

Three main conclusions can be drawn from these findings. *First,* parental behavior that is warm is associated with more secure, adaptive, socially acceptable child behavior. Hostile parental behavior tends to lead to insecurity, hostility, and some form of "problem" behavior in children. *Second,*

restrictiveness on the part of parents tends to be associated with compliant, controlled behavior, with the opposite tendency stemming from permissiveness in parents. *Finally,* it is clear that the personality development of children depends upon the combination of these two variables experienced in the home.

It is important to remind the reader that what has been presented above very much oversimplifies the complex interrelationships between parental behavior and its consequences for children. The effect of such variables as differences in behavior between the parents, changes in parents over time, the sex of the child, and his position in the family are just some of the additional factors which warrant consideration in any comprehensive attempt to understand the impact of parents on their children.

In addition to parental relationships, transactions with siblings are also an important influence on a child's personality development. Siblings represent potential competitors for parental time and affection. They are also potential allies linked by age in a subgroup of children arrayed against older, more powerful parents. A child can observe and imitate his siblings' behavior. He can observe the consequences of his siblings' behavior and learn vicariously to avoid their mistakes and profit from their successes.

2.22 Social Interaction with the School. While society entrusts the family with the responsibility for the initial socialization of an individual, beginning at the age five--and sometimes earlier when preschools are used--an important share of the responsibility for socialization is taken by the school. Socialization pressures at the school are transmitted through the influence of teachers, other students, curricula, and institutional policies and procedures. Because of his early experience in the family, the child enters school with an already existing set of values and conception of self.

The impact of the school on the individual in part depends on the interaction between these personal characteristics and the social forces he encounters at school. For some individuals, especially those of middle-class parents, the socialization pressures encountered in school tend to reinforce the self-concept and values acquired in the family. This is much less likely to be the case when the person comes from a family whose values and styles of interacting depart from the typical pattern of the dominant culture. Here family and school influences may not dovetail neatly and they may even counteract one another. This is most likely to be the case when the individual comes from a family which is black, Chicano, Indian, or very poor. For example, Navajo children are encouraged in their families to be cooperative and discouraged from excelling over others. The school typically rewards students who compete and excel. The Navajo child may well be caught in the middle of these conflicting social forces.

2.23 Social Interaction with Peer Groups. Interaction with age peers exert a tremendous influence on the personality development of an individual. With peers, an individual has an opportunity to experiment with and develop strategies of establishing and managing equalitarian interpersonal relationships. Peer groups provide the opportunity for intimate contact with other individuals of differing religions, social classes, and ethnic backgrounds. With peers, the person learns to compete with, work with, and cooperate with people who hold different opinions and convictions. He has with peers rich and varied opportunities for clarifying and differentiating his self-concept.

A noteworthy feature of the interaction pattern common in children and adolescents is their tendency to cluster into informal groups or cliques on the basis of mutual attraction. Members of these groups come to share a common understanding of what constitutes appropriate behavior by group members.

These shared understandings are called *group norms*. The norms cover behavior toward other members, toward leaders and subordinates, and toward individuals who are not considered part of the group. Part of the process of becoming a member of an already existing peer group is learning the particular pattern of role expectancies defined by the group's norms and behaving in accordance with these expectancies.

What makes this process especially important for the development of an individual's personality is the fact that the content of norms developed by groups of children and youth often reflect values which differ from those commonly expressed in the adult culture. This is especially true of pre-adults of high school and college age. Consequently, it makes sense to talk about a youth subculture which makes its own distinctive contribution to the socialization of an individual.

In recent years, values expressed by the youth subculture have increasingly conflicted, at least in some aspects, with the values of the total society. The term *counter-culture* has been coined to capture the flavor of challenge to traditional values contained in the norms prevalent in large segments of contemporary youth. Among the values emphasized by young people today are openness and honesty in interpersonal relationships; relationships based on mutual trust and caring rather than on obligation; maximizing present gratifications rather than living in the past or future; and experiencing one's self and the outer world intensely--with assistance from "grass" increasingly considered to be perfectly acceptable. Depending upon one's perspective, such values reflect either alienation or enlightenment. In any event, they are sufficiently prominent that they constitute a significant source of influence upon the identity formation of today's youth.

2.24 Social Interaction with Work Groups. Work groups help to shape and change the personality of individuals throughout their lives. Under a broad definition, a work group is any grouping of individuals which has as its central purpose the performance of some task. In this sense, a number of informal and formal groups of children and adolescents would qualify. In its more restricted sense a work group is one functioning as a part of the economic system of a society: group members work together to produce something and get paid in return. The more restricted sense will be used here.

Individuals in different occupations tend to differ not only in the pattern of skills they have acquired but also in their pattern of personal characteristics. Jazz musicians in general are likely to be different kinds of people from accountants. Satisfaction and success in a given occupation, with the consequent benefits to one's self-esteem, depend not only upon having the skills required in the work role but also upon holding values and interests that fit the particular roles called for by the occupation.

This principle provides the basis for the Strong Vocational Interest Inventory. This test, used in vocational guidance, is designed to determine the match between the pattern of an individual's interests and values and the interests and values of successful people in a variety of occupations. The better one's interests and values match the pattern of successful people in an occupation, the greater his job satisfaction is likely to be. We might speculate that Bill Brown would have shown a pattern of interests on the Strong Inventory like that of successful teachers. Harvey Black and Mary Smith might not have shown this pattern.

In choosing an occupation, an individual makes a decision that has an important bearing on the kinds of people with whom he will be interacting in the future. Thus, occupational choice represents a clear example of the way in which a person's own choices contribute to the shaping of his personality.

In the work group the individual has opportunities for satisfying both his social and ego needs. This latter area of satisfaction is especially important in American society where, as McClelland has pointed out, values emphasizing personal achievement and productiveness are emphasized. Leaders in the Women's Liberation Movement make a special point of this source of frustration for women. They argue that women, by tradition bound to the home and prevented from equal participation with men in work groups, are likely to be subjected throughout their adulthood to the corrosive effects on their self-esteem of continued frustration of their desire for recognition as productive people.

A number of observers, however, have concluded that the fate of men in the contemporary American economic system is not all that enviable. Industrialization has brought a high level of specialization. Many members of the work force perfor a routinized task, contributing only a small part to the finished product. Furthermore, work is frequently done within a highly differentiated hierarchical organization, affording individuals very little opportunity to participate in organizational decision-making or even to grasp fully the nature of the problems faced by higher levels of the organization. These are factors which, for many members of the work force, sharply curtail the degree to which their work experience can meet their social and ego needs and contribute to a positive sense of self-worth.

2.25 Exposure to the Mass Media. The average child in America spends more than two hours a day watching television. He is also exposed to books, newspapers, and magazines. These mass media affect personality development in four major ways. First, they provide a variety of fictional and real "heroes" that can be used by individuals as models for behavior, attitudes, and values. Second, they constantly remind the individual of certain of the values

of his culture. In the U. S., for example, the virtues of material possessions, romantic love, physical attractiveness, and success in competition get stressed in advertisements, song lyrics, and plots of drama and written fiction. Third, the mass media put people in touch with what is happening in the world through news and public affairs presentations. This exposure is apt to increase an individual's sense of participation in the affairs of the world and work against the development of narrow ethnocentric values.

Finally, mass media also provide an opportunity for temporary escape from disturbing problems of reality. For example, Coleman found that the less adolescents received recognition for personal achievement, the more they were inclined to use the mass media. Coleman concluded, "when [the adolescent] is in a system that fails to give him status and allow him a positive self-evaluation the adolescent often escapes to a world where he need not have such a negative self-evaluation: the world of mass media." (Coleman 1961, p. 243)

2.3 Social Interaction Influences Personality Through Social Learning

An individual's interactions with family, school, peers, co-workers, and the media help to shape his personality. The major mechanisms through which such *social learning* operates can be categorized as *compliance learning, learning by identification, complementary role learning,* and *internalization.* Each type of learning is based on a different kind of transaction that an individual can have with the people who influence him.

2.31 Compliance. Sometimes we do what another person or a group of people wants us to do because of the promise of reward or threat of punishment. Our behavior in effect represents compliance with demands made by people who are in a position to control our welfare. The mother who withholds the food until the infant turns toward the spoon and opens his mouth; the father who threatens his son with a spanking if the son forgets again to empty the garbage; the teacher

who announces to her class that those who get all of their work in on time for a week will be the ones selected as her "special helpers" the following week--are all using their control over rewards or punishments as a kind of a lever to induce a response they deem desirable.

Compliance is frequently used in the restrictive families described in Figure 2 on page 21. The traditional American classroom also relies heavily upon compliance to promote learning and manage the classroom behavior of the children. The teacher offers rewards in the form of expressions of approval, affection, high grades, gold stars, and special privileges. Punishment takes such forms as low grades, expressions of disapproval, withdrawal of privileges, and sending a child to the principal for reprimand.

What is the impact of compliance learning upon personality development? The use of compliance learning in a classroom is frequently based on the assumption that punishment and rewards are necessary to motivate learning and good deportment. Teachers who use the compliance mode are likely to believe that if a child is compelled to behave in a certain way long enough, the child's attitudes, values, and self-conception will automatically match the behavior. In other words, they assume that the child's internal convictions will eventually develop in a way that is congruent with his overt behavior. Inducing a child to show good manners, this position asserts, is a good way to establish attitudes of consideration for others.

Such a match between internal convictions and external behavior is most likely to come about when a person's environment consistently reinforces a particular kind of behavior. In American society, however, this rarely happens. Pressures from parents, peers, and teachers are likely to involve differing, even contradictory, definitions of appropriate behavior. Instead of reinforcing one another, these differing sets of demands encourage behavior to "split off" from conviction. The person, in effect, learns to be "other-directed." Instead

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of using his own values and identity as a basis for behavioral choice, he comes to rely heavily upon external social values, especially those emanating from persons in positions of authority.

The effects of the use of compliance methods on minority children are especially discomfiting. The use of compliance learning by teachers assumes that the authority of the teacher will be acknowledged and respected by the children. For most middle-class children there is an easy transfer of authority from that of the parents to the teacher. The situation is likely to be different for the minority student, however. Because of class, language, and cultural differences, he cannot as readily substitute the teacher for his parents and is less likely to have brought with him to school the set of values and behavioral tendencies that will earn him rewards. Consequently, he may experience a disproportionate amount of disapproval and other punishments from a teacher whom he doesn't recognize as a legitimate authority.

2.32 Identification. A second kind of learning is based on the individual's desire to be like someone he admires. A parent, a teacher, a friend, or even a personality known through reading or television viewing can serve as a model. We may want to learn from and be like another person because that person's behavior is more successful than our own in achieving goals we seek. Or we may identify with people whom we like and who treat us with concern and respect.

Learning through identification provides ideas and behaviors that can be "tried on for size." Identification also provides a basis for learning about social roles. A son who identifies with his father is, through this process, acquiring values and behavioral tendencies that he can call upon when he becomes a father himself.

Usually second only to parents, teachers are the adults with whom a child has a relationship over a long time period. Thus, they offer ample opportunity for learning through identification. The significance of a teacher as an identi-

fication model may range from the relatively trivial to the extremely influential. The charismatic teacher is one whose personal style is unusually appealing and attractive to students; such a teacher is particularly likely to influence students through the process of identification. Racial, class, and cultural differences represent barriers to identification. This is another major handicap fo minority children attending schools predominantly staffed by white, middle-class teachers.

Children can also identify with characters in televised drama, motion pictures, or books. While the impetus for modeling some such characters is not as strong as when the person has a meaningful relationship with someone in the real world, some modeling at the level of behavior and even at the level of attitudes and values undoubtedly occurs. It is likely, however, that the ultimate fate of the modeled attributes depends on how well they work for the person, either in terms of the rewards or punishments they elicit from others or in terms of their ability to mesh with and enhance the individual's existing values and identity.

For instance, the nature of the impact of television and movie portrayals of violence has been hotly debated among social psychologists. One position has held that such portrayals offer the opportunity to drain off aggressive energy through vicarious participation in the drama. According to this view the cathartic effect of portrayed violence is of social benefit. An opposing position has maintained that people will tend to model aggressive behavior they see in motion pictures and television. This position sees televised violence as a negative influence on behavior. The evidence collected on this issue supports the latter position. Children watching visual portrayals of violence are likely immediately afterward to exhibit more aggression themselves when given the opportunity. (Bandura et al. 1963) Nevertheless, the ultimate effect of the modeling of aggressive behavior on personality development is likely to be heavily influenced by the way people around the person react to his modeled

aggressive behavior and how it fits with his existing values concerning aggression.

In the process of identification, as with compliance learning, external forces form the person's values. Some social psychologists hold that in the case of identification, however, the person's own values and identity play a greater role in determining the impact of these external forces on him.

2.33 Complementary Role Learning. In any continuing relationship the roles played by the persons involved must complement each other. Expectations and behaviors must dovetail so that each person's actions fit in with what the other person is doing.

Complementary role behavior requires that each person react empathically to the expectations of the other person. In doing so, each person discovers what the other expects of him, each clarifies his own ideas, and each learns to play a social role. Thus, complementary role relationships can significantly affect personality. The more emotionally intense and long-standing a complementary role relationship is, the more powerful is its effect upon personality.

The complex pattern of relationships that develop within a family provide many opportunities for complementary role learning. Boys can refine their identity as males in complementary role relationships with their sisters. Older siblings can play a nurturing role in caring for younger siblings. The potential importance of this complementary role learning is suggested by some recent research on happiness in marriage. Marriages apparently go better when the partners, in choosing one another, duplicate complementary relationships they experienced with siblings, as when the older brother of a sister marries the younger sister of a brother.

Complementary role learning through a teacher can have an important impact on the child's personality development. Under certain conditions this impact may be negative: when a teacher places heavy emphasis upon his role as an authority

administering rewards and punishments, the complementary role of the child emphasizes the child's dependency, conformity, and inability to make independent decisions.

Complementary role learning in the classroom can profoundly affect the student's self-concept. This may be another hazard for minority group children in school. Middle-class teachers usually expect less from black students than from white students. As a result, black children may produce less. In so doing, they tend to confirm for the teacher her original expectations. This sequence of events has been referred to as a "self-fulfilling prophecy."

Complementary role learning can flourish only when the communication between the persons involved is clear and consistent. If one of the persons involved communicates with vague and inconsistent messages, the complementarity of the relationship is destroyed. In the short run, this is experienced as confusion and discomfort by the recipient of inconsistent communication. If he has a choice, he will ordinarily not stay in such a relationship very long. Children, however, typically do not have that choice when the other person involved is their parent or their teacher. A child who is persistently subjected to vague and inconsistent messages from someone with whom he is forced to interact may develop, as a consequence, a confused and conflicting self-concept.

2.34 Internalization. Internalization refers to the processes through which a person incorporates a belief, value, or skill into his personality because, by his own evaluation, it is consistent with (a) his values, (b) his self-concept, and (c) reality as he knows it.

More than any of the previously mentioned learning modes, learning by internalization depends on an "inner-directed" judgment by the individual. Thus, the ability to internalize requires that the person has a clear idea of his values and personal identity. It requires also that his physiological, social, and ego needs have been sufficiently satisfied and are not intense.

Strong needs in any of these areas make a person more vulnerable to external influences and less able to evaluate and choose from among alternative ideas in accordance with his own values. On the other hand, the drive for self-actualization facilitates the process of internalization. It tends to mobilize and support the inner-directed judgment necessary for internalization.

What kind of an environment is required for learning through internalization? The warm permissive parental combination shown in Figure 2 of the previous section has been associated indirectly with the development of self-directed personalities in children. Parents who are friendly and permissive in their approach to their children are most likely to encourage learning processes based on identification and internalization.

In the school, the learning environment should be, first of all, non-coercive, where neither external rewards nor punishments are emphasized as a means of inducing learning. Second, it must be an environment in which the independent judgment of the learner is respected. Third, it must be an environment in which sufficient information is available for the learner to make critical evaluations and decisions. Finally, the environment must encourage the learner to accept responsibility for his own choices. In brief, it is an environment which stresses learning rather than teaching.

In recent years, a growing number of critics have raised serious questions about the effectiveness of our educational system as a social learning experience for students. The critics differ in the details of their criticisms and recommendations for change. They all, however, voice a profound concern about the impact on a person of years of exposure to classrooms organized around traditional concepts of teaching, with the teacher at the center of the stage, deciding, directing, controlling, manipulating, rewarding, and punishing--in short, maintaining "ownership" of the learning process. What the critics are saying is that the structure and practices of the traditional classroom in

America discourage and inhibit the mode of learning described here as internalization. They call for educational innovations altering the role of the teacher from director of to collaborator in the learning process. Their ideal teacher would respect and trust the student's potential for assuming a major share of the responsibility for his own learning. The "open classroom," the "British Infant School model," and "participative education" are all names applied to various educational innovations which seek to maximize learning based on the process of internalization.

Just as there are in education a number of theorists devising alternatives to traditional structure and procedures, so there are a number of applied social psychologists who are seeking alternatives to traditional organizational structures and procedures in work groups. They aim to establish structures that will serve both the human needs of workers and organizational objectives. Not surprisingly, the tack taken with economic organizations is similar to the thrust of recent educational innovations; for example, utilizing as much as possible the self-direction and self-control of workers rather than coercive external controls to regulate their work performance and decentralizing authority so that decision-making responsibility is given to those most intimately acquainted with the problems requiring decisions. In effect, the recommendation is for management to place less emphasis on control through compliance and more emphasis on creating a working climate in which internalization is encouraged.

The four modes of learning have been discussed above as if they operate singly in given social situations. This was done for ease of exposition rather than fidelity to reality. The four modes can, and most certainly do, operate in combination. For example, identification may operate simultaneously with compliance learning in a parent-child relationship. Internalization may occur along with and reinforce learning involving all of the other three modes. This will occur when that learning makes sense to the person and is consistent with his own values, self-concept, and perceptions of reality.

3.0 Personality and the Social Situation Interact to Produce Behavior

Thus far this paper has focused on personality attributes and the nature of the forces in a person's history that influence the development of personality. This account of personality has been illustrated by describing the different behaviors exhibited by three teachers--Bill, Harvey, and Mary--in a specific social situation. Perhaps the impression may have been given that a person with a particular personality will always show the same style of interpersonal behavior in every social situation. That is not so.

Let's put the three teachers in a different social situation.

They are back in the teacher's lounge the next day. Mary Smith has been appointed by the school principal as chairman of a small committee to plan and carry out arrangements for a faculty picnic. Bill Brown and Harvey Black are the other two members appointed to the committee. When we look in on them, we see a picture radically different from before. Now Mary Smith is talking in an animated, competent, authoritative fashion. She is bubbling with enthusiasm as she outlines her ideas for the sequence of events at the picnic. Harvey Black is taking notes as she speaks, interrupting occasionally to ask a question or make a suggestion. When Mary asks him if he would be willing to take charge of organizing the teachers at the picnic for a baseball game, he is obviously pleased and makes several suggestions which gain a nod of approval from Mary. Bill Brown sits in silence looking sometimes bored, sometimes mildly irritated. When Mary asks Bill if he would distribute a sign-up sheet to the other teachers to see how many plan to come to the picnic, he refuses, saying that he is too tied up reading his students' reports to spare the time.

What can we say now about our three teachers? Harvey, who was submissive and unfriendly the day before is still behaving in a submissive fashion, but today he is much warmer. Mary Smith, who was warm and submissive yesterday is again behaving in a friendly manner but now she is clearly the dominant person in the interaction. Bill Brown, who used to be our friendly, dominant hero, is now neither warm nor dominant, nor much of a hero.

In observing the people around you, it isn't difficult to see that the same individual can act quite differently in different situations. While in our two episodes the same people are involved, the situations they are involved in are not the same on the two days. Yesterday the teachers constituted an informal

group having a conversation focused on the classroom. Today they are meeting as a formal group with a chairman to accomplish a specific task. That task has nothing to do with the classroom; it demands a different focus of attention.

These situational differences on the two days make it understandable that the topic of the conversation will be different each day. But how can we account for each teacher's interpersonal behavior in the two situations? Only by considering the way that the psychological attributes of each of the teachers mesh with the attributes of the two situations.

Mary's interest and competence in arranging social events could be readily utilized in the second situation but not in the first. In the first episode, the nature of the conversation reminded her of her inadequacies as a teacher. Thus it is understandable that she was submissive in the first situation and dominant in the second. Harvey's increase in friendliness in the second conversation could have been due to the opportunity presented by that situation for him to focus his attention on an athletic venture, planning the baseball game. This represented a welcome respite for him from the teaching routine. Bill's behavior in the second conversation suggests that he has little motivation to help plan the picnic. He is heavily invested in improving his teaching and probably resents having to spend time working on the committee.

The different ways in which these three teachers' interpersonal behavior changed from the first situation to the second makes it clear that we cannot account for their social behavior simply in terms of personality or of the attributes of situations. A person's behavior in a situation depends on how his psychological attributes interact with the attributes of that situation.

What are some of the attributes of social situations that can affect behavior? Among the most important are the characteristics of other individuals and of groups or organizations involved in the social situation.

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3.1 Characteristics of Other Individuals in the Social Situation

3.11 Intentions. When person A is interacting with person B, A's perception of B's intentions (his motives and goals--what he is trying to do in the interaction) may have an important bearing on A's behavior in the situation. We might describe A's perception of B's intentions with phrases like "he is trying to be helpful to me," "he wants to get my sympathy," "he wants to get the job we are working on done as quickly as possible," or "he is trying to impress me with his brains." A might perceive one main intention in B or he may perceive several intentions operating simultaneously.

Our response to a person's intentions depends on our own intentions in the situation. If we are feeling as if we want sympathy and perceive that one of the several people that we are with is trying to be sympathetic, we may turn to that person, encourage him, and indicate that we are grateful. If we are talking to a used-car salesman and perceive that he is willing to stretch the truth enormously to make a sale, we may decide to terminate the conversation quickly and go elsewhere; to listen politely to him overtly, while privately discounting much of what he says; or to do something to strengthen his helpful tendencies by saying something like, "But look, what I would really like to know is whether you think this car is going to get me and my seven children to New York." Which kind of response we choose will depend on other factors in the situation as well as on our own personality.

3.12 Expectations. In the earlier section on complementary role learning, the role of expectations in human interaction was discussed. When two people interact, each one gives the other cues about what he expects from the other. Sometimes what a person expects of us in a social situation fits well with our own intentions and self-concept; sometimes the match is poor.

In the first conversation among the three teachers, it is likely that Bill Brown's confident, enthusiastic, expository manner contained an implicit

concerning his expectancies for the other two teachers: "I expect you to be interested, involved, friendly learners, who will mostly listen while I talk." These expectancies seemed to mesh well with Mary Smith's intentions in the situation and it is likely that in her behavior she conveyed to Bill that she expected him to be the dominant, friendly teacher. The expectation of the used car salesman--that we will listen in a dutiful, interested, believing manner while he extols the apparently unlimited virtues of a 1955 repainted Edsel--may not be very congruent with our intentions to use the interaction with him efficiently as a basis for choosing the best possible car for our money. In such an instance we may well experience a feeling of unease and conflict--torn between a tendency to respond with courteous acquiescence to his expectations and the desire to see our own needs better served through the interaction.

One of the ways a person can control the nature of the interaction he has with another is to convey in a very clear and compelling fashion what he expects of the other person. But efforts to control interactions are by no means the special province of those whose behavior is active and dominant. A submissive style can also be used to control social interactions. For example, most of us have had experience with people who at times seem to exaggerate their helplessness as a means of insuring a helpful, nurturing response from others.

3.13 Power. A person has power over another to the extent that he has the potential to exert an influence on the other person. The degree to which a person is likely to take account of another's intentions and expectations depends upon the first person's perceptions of the other's power. French and Raven (1959) describe five separate bases of interpersonal power. Each of these bases of power refers to a different means by which influence over another person can be accomplished.

A is said to have *reward power* over B when B perceives A as having control

over rewards that B desires. A is said to have *coercive power* over B when B sees A as having control over punishments that B would like to avoid. A has *referent power* over B when B identifies with A and likes or admires him. A has *legitimate power* over B when B recognizes A's "right" to influence him. (For example, because of their relative military status the lieutenant recognizes that a captain has legitimate power over him--it is a power relationship built into the organizational status system of the military.) A has *expert power* over B when B perceives A as possessing knowledge of skills of which B can make use in achieving his goals.

The reader will recall that interpersonal power was mentioned in discussing the four modes of learning through which social influences are transformed into personality attributes. Different bases of power are involved in the different modes of learning. Reward and coercive power prompt compliance learning. Referent power is involved in learning through identification. Legitimate power especially promotes reciprocal role learning. Expert power is the kind most likely to be the basis of influence leading to internalization.

Power is an important concept because it helps us predict the patterns of influence in a given social interaction. It helps us also understand the means by which that influence is exerted. In addition, it helps to predict certain kinds of behaviors that people may exhibit with one another. For example, it has been shown that individuals low in power will tend to act in an ingratiating fashion toward a person higher in power by using flattery, agreeing with his opinions, and striving to "look good" in his eyes. Individuals with relatively high power are much less likely to act in an ingratiating manner toward those with lesser power.

3.2 Characteristics of Groups and Organizations

A significant portion of an individual's behavior occurs in groups or in organizations. The term *group*, as used here, does not refer to just any collec-

tion of people who happen to be together. A group is an aggregation of people who share some common rules for behavior. A social *organization* is a system which includes several interrelated groups, all of which share some common goals. Every group and organization has the following attributes: it has rules of behavior which are called *norms*; it is comprised of parts which are functionally related to each other in a *structure*; it has a force called *cohesiveness*, which keeps the members together.

3.21 Norms. Group norms are the rules for behavior that are shared by group members. Sometimes norms are explicit and may even be written down somewhere, e.g., "Enlisted men will salute officers." Many norms, however, are implicit, yet still have a powerful influence on group members' behavior. Think about the various groups you belong to. You are aware of having some sense of what is appropriate behavior in each group. Some things that are quite appropriate in one group are not at all appropriate in another. One way to identify the norms of a particular group is to ask yourself what a person must do and what he must avoid doing in the group in order to be considered a "good" group member.

Norms cover a broad range of behavior. Consider, for example, the norms that might be operating in a group of teachers at a school. It doesn't take long for a new teacher to learn that it is considered appropriate to address other teachers by their last name when greeting them in front of children, but by their first name when children are not around; to act in a deferential manner toward the principal; to keep the classroom door closed; to make stringent academic demands on the students; to evaluate teacher aids critically; and so forth. The new teacher is likely to learn also what is inappropriate for teachers to do, e.g., to wear a miniskirt to school, to allow students to talk in the halls when changing classrooms.

Individuals can experience strong pressures to conform to group norms. Behaviors that depart from group norms tend to elicit disapproving reactions

from group members; behaviors that conform tend to gain approval. Ultimately, the motivation to conform to norms derives from an individual's desire to be accepted as a member of the group.

Conformity pressures are not applied uniformly to group members. Behavior perceived as nonconforming for one group member may not be perceived as nonconforming for another. For example, one individual may earn the right not to conform with greater impunity than others. By being an especially good group member, a person, in effect, earns "idiosyncrasy credits" which he can later cash in by exhibiting innovative, nonconforming behavior without being subject to sanctions. (Hollander 1958) A veteran, respected teacher in a traditional school may be able to introduce radical innovations in his manner of classroom management without provoking disapproval from others; he has earned the right. But suppose the same innovations were attempted by a teacher who has always been considered somewhat of an "oddball." He might well find himself the object of disapproving stares from other teachers in the halls or the subject of whispered, concerned conversations in the teachers' lounge. He might even receive formal notification from his principal that other teachers are complaining about the noise in his classroom. It is a paradoxical fact of group life that an individual earns the right to nonconformity by showing that he is willing to conform.

Norms of groups do not always mesh well with the norms of the larger organization of which the group is a part. This can be a source of conflict for the members of the group. In Viet Nam, as the prospects for a military victory dwindled to zero, the norms of some combat units increasingly sanctioned nonaggressive, self-protective, enemy-avoiding behaviors. These norms ran counter to more general organizational norms of the military that specified that a good soldier will show aggressiveness and a willingness to risk personal safety in order to attain the objectives of a mission. Conflict about norms was likely to be greatest in those combat soldiers in Viet Nam who were committed to the

military, wanted a career as soldiers, and evaluated their self-worth in terms of the more general military norms and yet were in units that wanted to avoid combat. For such individuals, behaving like a "good soldier" may have involved considerable cost in terms of acceptance and approval from their immediate associates. But if they decided to conform to their unit's pressure--to "play it cool"--they paid a cost in terms of their sense of self-worth.

3.22 Structure. Whenever any group works to achieve a goal, divisions of responsibility arise within the group. Persons in different positions within the group are expected to perform different tasks to achieve the goal. The pattern of these positions and their relationships constitute a group's structure. But there is not just one structure in a group; there are several.

One type of structure has to do with the pattern of authority relationships within the group; this is the *authority* or *power structure* of a group. *Communication structure* is the pattern of information flow with the group. *Sociometric structure* is the pattern that emerges when a group is looked at in terms of who likes whom among the group members.

Not only are there different types of structures existing simultaneously within a group; for any given type of structure, there may be a formal version and an informal version. The formal authority structure of a group or organization corresponds with the explicit pattern of authority relationships that exist among the various positions in the group. Organizations frequently represent this authority structure explicitly in the form of a table of organization. A table of organization, among other things, specifies the power relationships among various positions in the organization--that is, the chain of command.

But the organization can also be described in terms of its informal power structure. This refers to the functional power relationships among members of the organization as they actually are played out by the members. The informal and formal power structures of a group may be quite different. Thus, soldiers

on the battlefield may show reluctance to follow automatically the orders of their formal superiors, workers in a plant may behave in such a way that production goals set by higher management are never reached, and students in a classroom may continue to be noisy and unruly in spite of the teacher's firm admonitions that they quiet down. Usually groups and organizations function more efficiently when there is a relatively high correspondence between the formal and informal power structures.

An individual's perception of his and others' positions within the various types of group structures helps to define for all concerned the particular role which each person is expected to play. This gives order and predictability to relationships among group members. It also provides a very useful tool in explaining social behaviors. If we consider the two conversations described earlier among the three teachers, the different group structures present on each of the two occasions helps to explain some of the differences in behavior between the two occasions. In the first conversation, Bill Brown assumed the position of the authority on classroom management and was accepted in that position by Mary Smith, who herself assumed a position of the subordinate learner. On the second day, Mary Smith came to the group with legitimate authority as chairman; her behavior on that day may be considered in part to be a product of her enacting appropriately the role behavior associated with her status as chairman.

3.23 Cohesiveness. Cohesiveness refers to the degree of attractiveness of a group to its members—the degree to which members desire to remain in the group. Cohesiveness, essentially a morale factor, is a very important determinant of group life.

What are the factors that affect the degree of cohesiveness of a group? One is the degree to which group members like one another. A second factor, closely related to the first, is the degree to which group members perceive one another as similar in their attitudes and values. If teachers in a school

share similar attitudes and values about children and teaching, they are more likely to be attracted to the school and to one another than if there are wide differences among the teachers in their values and attitudes. Another factor has to do with the type of interdependence among group members. People are more likely to be attracted to a group that functions with cooperation among members rather than competition. These are just a few of a number of factors that psychologists have shown are related to group cohesiveness.

Now let us turn to the question of the consequences of group cohesiveness. The most important general consequence of group cohesiveness is that it gives a group power to influence members. In a group with low cohesiveness, group norms may be of relatively little significance as a determinant of an individual's behavior. In groups of high cohesiveness, pressures to conform to group norms have a much greater impact on the group members. It has also been shown that as cohesiveness increases, there is an increase in a group's capacity to retain members and an increase in the participation of members in the group's activities. Finally, because people are better able to gain satisfaction for their social needs in groups of high cohesiveness, individuals are more likely to feel satisfied and show positive feelings of self-worth in such groups.

3.3 Simultaneous Influences of Several Individuals and Groups

Before leaving this section dealing with the attributes of social situations, one more point deserves emphasis. For the most part, discussion has focused on the person in social situations in which one other individual or one group or organization constitutes the relevant social environment for the person. It is rarely that simple.

Often we are subject to the influence of more than one person simultaneously. For example, when a person attends a party he may find himself talking with two people simultaneously, one of whom he wants to impress with his scholarly

ambitions, the other with his playboy ambitions. It can be difficult to resolve this sort of conflict smoothly.

Often we are subject to the influence of several different groups or organizations simultaneously. For example, during a Thanksgiving holiday, a man may bring his wife and children to join his brother's family at his parent's home for dinner. In that situation, he may have radically different roles to play. With his parents he is expected to play the role of the son they remember from earlier years. With his wife and children, he is expected to play the role of a confident father. The brother expects him to compete for the attention of their parents as they did as siblings growing up together. It is sometimes difficult to know how to behave in the face of such conflicting role expectations. We can understand how one may feel tense and uncomfortable in such a situation. Such role conflicts can occur not only simultaneously but also segmentally, when successive situations call for widely differing types of behavior.

The challenge of social living for an individual is to be able to deal effectively with the various social forces he encounters, while maintaining his personal identity and personal values.

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4.0 Subjective Experience Leads to and Accompanies Social Behavior

4.1 Perceptions, Thoughts, and Feelings Are the Content of Subjective Experience

Each of us lives in a personal, subjective world of perceptions, thoughts, and feelings. Our happiness, our sense of fulfillment, our estimation of our lives as worthwhile or not, depends on events in that subjective world. Subjectively experienced processes also play an integral part in generating man's social behavior.

4.11 Perceptions. As explained previously an individual's social behavior is a joint product of all the psychological attributes of the person and the attributes of the social situation as he perceives them. While in an abstract, theoretical sense we can think of objective social reality, in fact there is no way of knowing about that reality except through the filter of our perceptual processes. Everyone tries to make sense out of the world "out there," but there is considerable possibility of slippage between what is "really" there and what we perceive.

Thus, people perceive the same situation differently. These differences stem from individual differences in values, motives, and characteristic ways of coping with stress. Knowing how a person perceives a given situation helps us to better understand and predict his behavior in it than if we restrict ourselves to an objective definition of his environment.

4.12 Thoughts. Thinking--manipulating symbols--makes it possible for man to recall the past, anticipate the future, and link both with his present perceptions. Thus by thinking he can rapidly and efficiently choose among alternative actions in most situations without having to resort to a trial-and-error approach.

4.13 Feelings. Perceptions and thoughts are accompanied in subjective experience by feelings. Feelings add color and vividness to one's inner world. Their richness, variety, and intensity constitute the kind and degree of satis-

faction or dissatisfaction a person experiences in living.

The ability to be readily aware of one's feelings is an essential aspect of identity formation and identity maintenance. A person not readily able to recognize and differentiate his feelings is very much handicapped in his effort to know what his values, attitudes, and motives are. Such a person also would have difficulty in establishing emotional ties with others.

4.2 Subjective Processes Lead to Behavior

Behavior is activity that can be observed by other people. It is public, while subjective experience is private. Thus social behavior serves as a bridge between the private, subjective worlds of separate individuals.

The interaction of a person with his social environment generates within him a complex array of subjective processes which lead in turn to his external behavior. The following illustration may help to clarify the connection between subjective processes and behavior. The behavior involved is a simple non-verbal act. A very small segment of a social interaction has been chosen on purpose in order to do justice to the complexity of the subjective processes that lead to behavior.

A college girl is sitting in the snack bar on campus. She is alone in her booth. She looks up and notices that a boy one booth away, also alone, is looking at her and smiling. The girls looks at the boy impassively for a second or two, then smiles back at him warmly.

Looked at from the standpoint of the girl, what events occurred within her between the time she first noticed the boy and her action of smiling back at him? Let's speculate.

First, she arrived at a perception of the boy. Let us summarize it by saying that she saw him as a good looking stranger of about her age, whose smile struck her as both friendly and a bit nervous. Along with this perception of the boy, she was aware that the snack bar was not very crowded and that no one that she knew was there. Along with her perception of the boy, she became aware of

feelings within herself. The state of her feelings at that moment was complex. It could be approximately described as a mixture of apprehension, curiosity, and pleasurable excitement.

It was against the backdrop of this set of perceptions and feelings that the young lady set about making a decision about how to behave in this social situation. The several seconds she took for thought gave her time to rapidly scan data and consider her options. What were some of her possible options? She could continue looking at the boy impassively until it was clear to him that she intended it as her response, i.e., to stare him down. Or, she could smile back at him seductively. Or, she could look away, either shyly or indifferently. Finally, she had as an option the response she decided on--a friendly smile.

Actually, the options of staring impassively or smiling seductively in return never were consciously considered by this young lady. An important part of her self-concept was her image of herself as a demure, feminine person. This self-image limited the range of alternative responses that occurred to her. She very quickly considered one alternative to smiling back at the boy: to look away. She jointly considered the two alternatives in terms of potential cost and potential gain to her of each. Since she couldn't be sure what the precise consequences of either response would be, her choice inevitably involved uncertainty and risk.

"I really ought not to encourage him. I have never been picked up before and I am proud of that. If we had a relationship, it might turn out that he is the kind of boy who moves too fast, too soon, and is likely to trifle with my feelings. Also it's possible that he is setting me up for a put-down. If I smile back at him he could look away and leave me feeling foolish. I could avoid all of those ominous possibilities by looking away from him now. If I wanted to hedge my bet, I could look away in a shy manner which wouldn't completely discourage him; if he were really interested in me, then he could do something else to make contact with me.

"On the other hand, he does look a bit nervous. That suggests that if I look away from him now he may not have the courage to pursue the relationship. It also gives me reason to believe that he may not be the paragon of masculine confidence that he would like to have me believe from his wink. His nervousness makes him less intimidating to me; perhaps I could even come to dominate him.

5.0 Social Behavior Leads to Changes in the Person and in the Social Situation

As a person behaves in a social situation he changes and the social situation changes. These changes may be insignificant or profound, they may be short-lived or persistent, but they are continually occurring.

Personality is shaped and changed by the continual learning that accompanies social behavior. Sometimes the changes are dramatic. If, for instance, an individual experiences a deeply humiliating rejection after professing his love to someone, the experience may well have a major impact on his attitudes, values, and self-concept. It could leave him more guarded, less confident, and less willing to commit himself emotionally in the future. It is more usual, however, that the shaping and changing of personality occurs as a gradual process over a long time period. It is the cumulative result of the vast number of social interactions that follow one another throughout a person's life.

Social situations are shaped and changed by the behavior of individuals. Sometimes these changes are dramatic, such as a demagogue inciting a peaceful group to violence. But often the changes are more gradual. A creative, enthusiastic teacher may, as the cumulative effect of her social interactions over a period of time, change the norms concerning innovative practices in her school.

Man's ability to change his personal attributes permits him to adapt to his changing social environment. This adaptive ability is necessary for his survival. Just as necessary for survival is man's ability to change his social environment to adapt it to his changing personal attributes. This process of reciprocal change and adaptation is never ending.

But I certainly wouldn't smile back at him if people who knew me were here to see me do it; I don't think my friends would approve of that. But there are no friends to see me and I do deserve a little fun in my life after all the studying I have been doing lately. It could be very interesting. What the heck--why not?" And so she smiles.

Thus her thoughts and feelings have led to her behavior.

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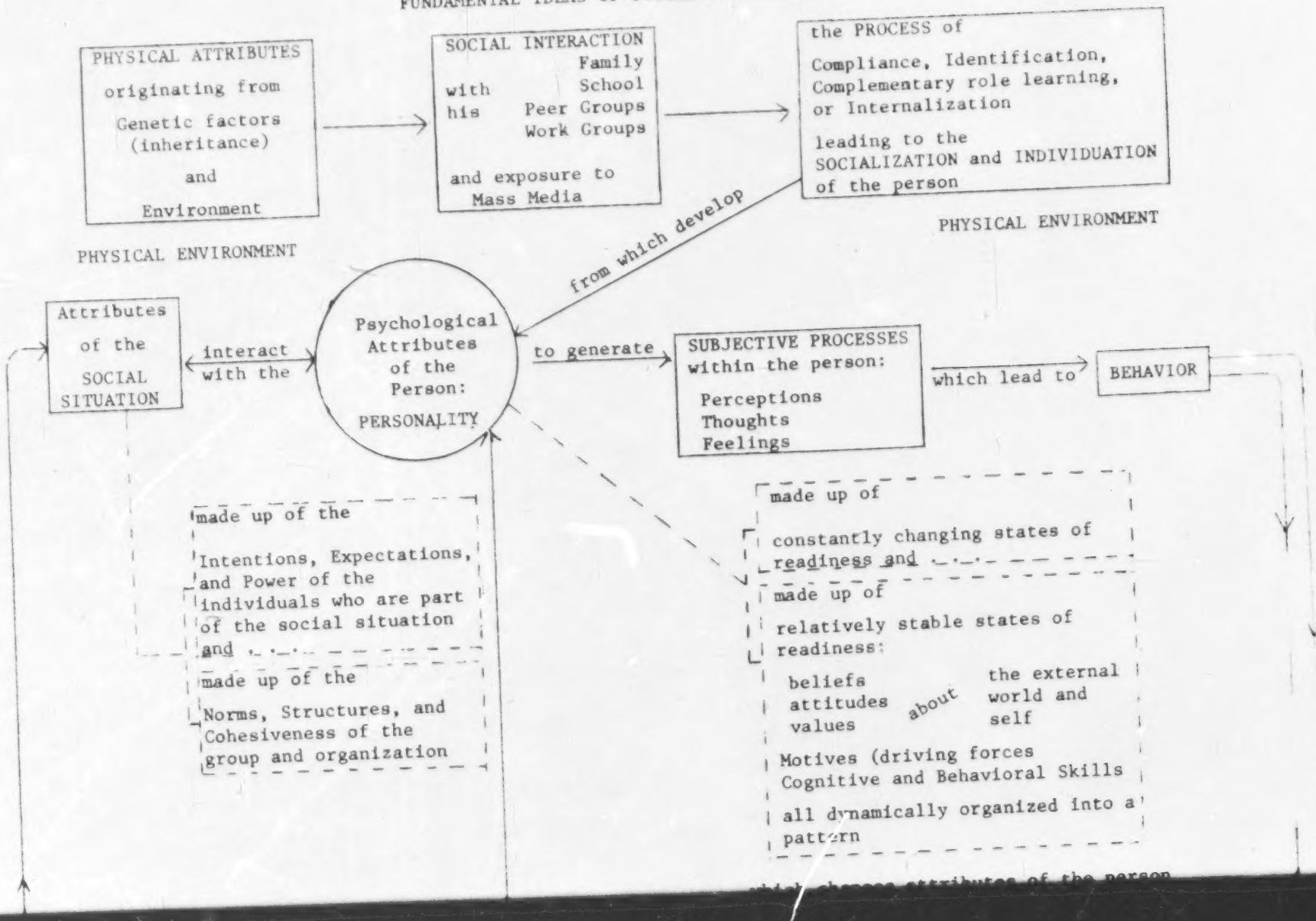
FIGURE 3.

FUNDAMENTAL IDEAS OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY



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6.0 Diagram of the Fundamental Ideas of Social Psychology

The diagram on the following page, Figure 3. "Fundamental Ideas of Social Psychology," shows the interrelationships among the concepts discussed in this paper.

The circle in the center of the diagram, labeled "Psychological Attributes of the Person: PERSONALITY," represents the focal point of the study of social psychology. The two boxes joined to the central circle with broken lines (below and to the right of the circle) elaborate on the concepts implied in the Personality circle. These are discussed in section 1.0 of the paper, "Persons Have Psychological Attributes: Personality."

The row of three boxes running across the top of the diagram, "PHYSICAL ATTRIBUTES," "SOCIAL INTERACTION," AND "PROCESSES," summarizes the concepts and their interrelationships discussed in section 2.0 of the paper, which describes how personality develops. These boxes feed into the central circle via the arrow, indicating that they contribute to the development of the personality.

On the lefthand side of the diagram is a box labeled "Attributes of the SOCIAL SITUATION." This box is elaborated in the two boxes below it and connected to it by broken lines. The two-way arrow between the Attributes box and the Personality circle indicates the interaction between the social situation and the individual's personality. The attributes of the social situation and their interactions with personality are discussed in section 3.0 of the paper.

To the right of the Personality circle are two boxes, "SUBJECTIVE PROCESSES" and "BEHAVIOR." These indicate the results of the interaction of the social situation and the personality, as described in section 4.0 of the paper.

Finally, the two arrows leading from the Behavior box to (1) the Personality circle and (2) the Social Situation box indicate the process of feedback discussed in section 5.0, "Social Behavior Leads to Changes in the Person and in the Social Situation."

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